601 husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son
[608] or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being [22]
[768] taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

20. (akit) ʌjdnisu,

used in the substantive form above, or in the participial form ʌjdnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, ʌjdneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

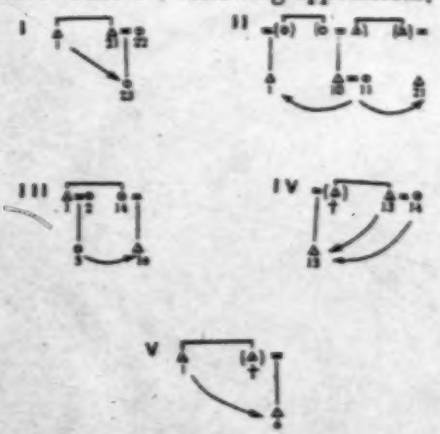

Fig. 3

I. aʔkineru ajdneram. --II. (t)oyensaesu ajdnisu. III. oyensaesu ajdnisu (among children). IV. tayettu aʔkiraru ajdneram. --V. akineram (aʔkirara ajdneram).

115 and only reveals her happy nature on occasions of songs and dances where
157 she excels. One always sees her occupied by some craft work which she seems to prefer—shaping or polishing disks of shells, drilling them through or filing them, rubbing earrings or bracelets. She talks little, letting herself be completely absorbed by her work. She is a wife and mother, and a remarkable informant for all details of the material culture.

a12. --Daughter of the preceding two, approximately 22 years; she is the wife of A73 who abandoned her to live with two women a74 and a75. Because of this, she returned to the charge of her parents, the more so because she is pregnant. She is placid, smiling and apathetic. She is separated from collective life by her condition
[164] and by a painful eye infection which struck her first among the members of her group of which several were later attacked by the epidemic.

A13. --About 40 years of age. Son of A18, "brother," consequently, of a2, "brother-in-law" of A1, whose older sister a14 he married. Always joyful, active and docile, he is the confidence man of A1, his preferred messenger, the companion he chooses for all complicated undertakings. He is industrious, a [44] not affected in his attitudes, and, as an informant, compliant, very verbose and not always clear or comprehensive.

a14. --About 40 to 45 years. Wife of the preceding, blood sister of A1, mother of A16. She is influential, active, diligent, at first quite rude, but in reality pleasing and competent. She exercises real authority over the other women of the group by her spirit of initiative and her pep. She is the grandmother of a8 and of a9 whom she feeds and whom she cares for frequently. Not only is she a good informant, but she sometimes takes didactic initiative. She loves songs and dances.

● [608] A15. --About 15 years. He is an orphan; his father was the brother of A13 who took him in. A gentle, tranquil, rather timid boy.

A16. --7 or 8 years; son of A13 and of a14, "husband" of a5. He is a lively and curious child; his mother rarely refuses him anything, and he tyrannizes her willingly. She is very proud of him and overlooks many of his whims. One day she came to ask us to teach him to read. The attempts are not very encouraging. He looks upon the lessons as a game and refuses to learn the letters as determined forms; for him they are interchangeable, and he attributes to them in turn all the sounds which he has in his vocabulary.

115 A17. --Between 50 and 55 years, he is the dean of the group; he
157 is conscious of this and gets a certain pride from having around him
602 only "sons" or "daughters," "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law,"

● 608

[For information on compérage, which is also a type of artificial kin relationship including siblings-in-law, see category 607.]